26: Brüning--46 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 121

In 1902 an expedition to the Marañón River was organized in Chiclayo. The purpose of this expedition was the search for a convenient communication between the Pacific Coast and the watercourses east of the Andes. I had an opportunity to participate in this expedition. When the money allotted to the enterprise ran out, I continued the expedition at my own expense. During this trip we had brief encounters with the primitive Indians who live on both banks of the upper Marañón River and its tributaries. The following information is based partly upon my own observations, partly upon information which I received from the whites who live as rubber traders among the natives.

26: Brüning--46 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 361, 131, 166

The Indians are inhabitants of a region which extends along the upper course of the Marañón River, from Yusamaro downward to Puerto Meléndez at the Pongo de Manseriche. They live in this region in small and widely dispersed settlements close to the banks of the River. I have been informed that their chief settlements are located farther up along the tributary rivers. Beyond Yusamaro no Indians are said to remain anymore, yet formerly their settlements are said to have extended to the Pongo Rentema. They had moved down to the Marañón River on account of the quarrels they had with the whites or, rather, the mestizos. Their settlements can not be called permanent anyway. Despite the fact that the Indians live at one place for a long time, and in relatively permanent dwellings at that, they are said to leave their settlements frequently for no special reason in order to reestablish themselves again at some distance from the former settlement.

26: Brüning--46 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 101, 175

The Aguaruna, Antipa, Huambisa, and Murato Indians are the component tribes that make up the Jibaro people, according to Bastian. The Jibaro people were never completely subjugated by the Incas, just as they put up a firm resistance against the later Spanish attempts at conquest. What the old historians report concerning the Jibaros may still be said of the Aguarunas of today: they are just as proud, brave freedom-loving, and, at the same time, hospitable as the old Jibaro people are said to have been.

The Aguarunas keep up a friendship with the Antipas, but they are hostile to the Huambisa Indians who live along the banks of the Santiago River. I have noticed that they regard it as an insult if they are called Huambisa.

26: Brüning--46-47 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 175, 436

In former years the Indians came as far as Bella Vista and later even to Bagua Chica in order to exchange parrots and other animals for articles of everyday use. Raimondi tells us that in 1845 the Aguarunas destroyed at the same time the mestizo-settlements [47] Puyaya and Copallín, the one situated on the right bank of the Marañón River, somewhat below the Rentema, the other on the left bank.

The old mestizo Santiago Lara, one of the survivors of Copallín and now 56 years old, told me in Bagua Chica the following story concerning the destruction of Copallín: "It happened in about 1856 that Jibaros first attacked the houses that were situated outside the village. The inhabitants of the chief settlement, warned by the clamor, were given a chance to flee. My father took me on his shoulders, and we fled, like the others into a mountain gorge. When the Indians came, they found the village deserted. They carried away everything they regarded as valuable, but they did no damage to the buildings." And yet, neither Copallín nor Puyaya was ever resettled by its inhabitants. Another Copallín was founded on the right bank of the Uteabamba River.

116, 175

In 1871, or thereabout, Indians advanced once more beyond the Rentema for trading purposes. They left their canoes at the mouth of the Uteabamba River. The Indians numbered about 25, and there was one woman among them. They were escorted to Bagua Chica by the inhabitants of this village. Our informant was at that time deputy headman of Bagua Chica. Immediately he sent word to his superior, who happened to be away on his farm. The superior gave orders to entertain the Indians with food and drink while he would take further measures. In the meantime, he gathered men from the neighboring villages of Copallín, La Peca, and La Montería with the intention to kill the Indians. Among these men were several survivors from the old villages of Copallín and Puyaya. These survivors maintained that they were able to identify some of the Indians as the attackers of those old villages. Under some pretext the Indians were led into the assembly house (Cabildo), where they were locked in. Soon the poor Indians saw themselves attacked with rifles and pointed bamboo spears. Through the roof and the bamboo walls shots were fired at them, and they were stabbed until all were killed with the exception of three who succeeded to escape through the door. Two of these and a young fellow, who had kept watch over the canoes, brought the news of the carnage back to their villages; the third man was sent as a present to the prefect of Chachapoyas, where he later died of smallpox. The Indian woman, who had been turned over to a farmer in the vicinity, met with the same fate.

116, 175

The dead were buried on the left bank of the Uteabamba River a little below Bagua Chica. This place is still known as the Playa de los Jíbaros.

Old people in Bagua Chica also told me that in former years the whites or rather the mestizos had provoked these attacks since they had taken the women from the Indians who were engaged in peaceful barter transactions.

In June 1904, that is after my trip, the Indians along the upper Marañón made another uprising, killing all the white men who lived among them, some fifty or sixty, and even a few missionaries. These carnages are officially described as acts of treachery on the part of the Indians. But in going to the bottom of things one will find out that they are acts of retribution. These Indians are sensitive children of nature who never forget an insult even if it may take a long time until they get their revenge. They time their revenge according to the circumstances. Superstition, too, plays its part. For they first make a brew of a narcotic liana, which in the Aguaruna language is called náktém, while the white men call it "rope of death" (ayahuasca). The drinking of this brew causes them to have visions, and they shape their revenge plans in accordance with these hallucinations. In this manner many years may pass, and it can easily be understood that they then take their revenge not always on the guilty ones. They are aware of one thing only: the offense had come from the white men, and white men have to be punished for it....

[48] An affair which is only a joke for the whites is often a serious insult for the Indian. All these insults are put on one common bill, which must be paid in blood at a time which the Indians regard as auspicious. But when the time for payment comes, then the Indians know only Indians on one side and white men on the other. Even white men who are friendly toward the Indians are not exempt from punishment.

26: Brüning--48 (1902) 1928 Jivaro
116, 197, 177

There are, as pointed out before, only a few white men among the Indians. These white men collect rubber. Most of them live in Chachapoyas and its vicinity. They refer to the Indians as Infieles, while they regard themselves, in contrast to the natives, as Cristianos. The Indians use the term Cristianos when they refer to persons or languages that do not belong to their race. They call themselves and their own language Aguaruna. In conversation among themselves they use, what the white men call, Quichua. But it is a Quichua which contains just as many Spanish and Aguaruna words as it contains Quichua words. And the white men frequently have to learn this dialect from the Indians. A true Quichua Indian, whom we had taken along on our expedition, insisted that he could not understand a word of this language. An old man in Ja'n told me after my return that formerly, when he had visited them in his youth, the Indians had understood Quichua. Would it not be better if the white men would learn the pure Aguaruna language or would teach Spanish to the Indians? I have seen it in Huavico, where an old man from Huancabamba was living, that both things are not impossible. This old man used only the Spanish language. Consequently, all Indians in the vicinity knew Spanish fairly well, and two Indians, who lived with him in his house, knew it even quite well. During my short stay there I had the opportunity to make a short glossary of the Aguaruna language. The young nephew of the old man spoke Aguaruna well, and otherwise, too, in his mode of life, he had become half Indianized. Time and again I had to laugh upon seeing the strange

116. 197, 177

surprise of the Indians when this young white man addressed them in their own language; they circled him with awe, examining him from all sides.

26: Brüning--48 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 436

In order to get articles that were valuable to them the Indians started to collect the products of their forests. In exchange for rubber, various resins, canoes, Maní, yucca, bananas, tamed animals and parrots the Indians ask for Winchester repeating arms, rifles and the necessary ammunition, axes, knives, scissors, needles, fish-hooks, mirrors, cotton wares, sewing thread, etc. At that time the rate of exchange was the following: For a small canoe for six people they would receive an ordinary single-barrelled rifle (European value perhaps 10 Marks). For a hen or a large bunch of bananas they would receive one vara (84 cm.) of Tocuyo (thin, unbleached cotton, muslin?). In exchange for a basket (15 liter) of ground-nuts (maní) they could barter 4 vara (336 cm.) of Tocuyo. I have witnessed it several times in Nazaret that the Indians were terribly cheated with regard to weight when they made their rubber deliveries to the white men, and I could see it from the expression on their faces that they were aware of the fraud.

26: Brüning--48-49 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 101

The white men call Aguaruna those Indians who live on the right side of the Marañón River; the Indians to the left are called Antipa. Both names may be found on Raimondi's map (number seven), but with this difference: the inscription at the left side of the Marañón River reads: "Jíbaros y Antipas." The Indians under discussion call themselves now, all of them, Aguaruna, [49] even those on the left bank of the Marañón River. I received this information in Numpatkai as an answer to a direct question. Moreover, I have been unable to discover either physical or any other distinguishing characteristics between the Indians of the two river banks. It may well be that the Indians use the name "Aguaruna" to distinguish their own race from that of the white men. The Indians of the two banks of the upper Marañón entertain friendly relations with each other, and they speak the same language, which is identical with that of the Huambisa and Murato tribes.

26: Brüning--49 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 101

The name "Aguaruna" is not derived from the language of the Indians thus named. "Aguaruna" is composed of the Spanish word agua (i.e., water) and the Quichua word runa, which means "people," "men". Aguaruna, i.e., Watermen, Waterpeople. This name, at any rate, was given to them by the white men who first came into contact with them. The name indicates that these Indians habitually live in the proximity of water. To explain that the name if composed of Spanish and Quichua elements, it may be pointed out that whoever gave the name to the Indians may have come from the mountain area where Quichua is still partly spoken and where such two-language words occur frequently. For example, the Quichua word Ahua-runa may mean "weavers" because the men there do the weaving.

I have tried in vain to find out which name the Indians derive from their own language. During my research in this direction I have heard the word Yánum on several occasions, but it turned out that this term means "man belonging to the tribe", "fellow countryman," or something similar.

26: Brüning--49 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 141

I saw the first Indians in Nazaret on the Muchingis. They wore only a square loin cloth (itipe). I was favorably impressed by the muscular and evenly built upper part of the body. The Indians are of sub-medium stature and slender rather than corpulent. Their facial expression is friendly rather than stern, and one is inclined to trust them. Their bearing is straight and erect. This favorable impression disappears it they put on shirt and trousers, which some have adopted.

The color of their skin is a dark brown. I noticed very little difference between the color of the covered and the naked parts of their body. They themselves maintain that the color is caused by the sun.

The cheekbones are strongly protruding. The inner corner of the eyelids are slightly pulled down, but not to such an extent as with the Chinese. In general they have a wide mouth. They have a somewhat hanging lower lip. The teeth are well developed and healthy. The bridge of the nose is narrow and sometimes somewhat bent; the sides of the nose are wide and look inflated; therefore, upon first sight, they appear flat-nosed. Across the toes the feet are wide, and the big toe is usually somewhat protruding.

. The hair of the head is strongly developed in both sexes. Males and females wear it long. It seemed to me that their hair was not as thick and coarse as that of the coastal Indians. It is dark black and has, when wet, a blueish hue. I did not notice any facial hair growth. But there is rather plentiful hair about the genitals and less of it in the arm-pits. This is true of the male Indian. I did not have an opportunity to study the situation with respect to women,since they do not denude themselves in the presence of strangers.

26: Brüning--49 [4] (1902) 1928 Jívaro

116, 144

In Numpatkai, on the left bank of the Marañón, I have seen various Indians, chiefly young ones, who had dark-chestnut brown hair. These are evidently descendants of white women who had been kidnapped by the Indians.

26: Brüning--49 [5] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 522, 195

The natives, when among themselves, like to joke, and a good joke is greeted with hearty laughter. They show their astonishment by emitting a drawling, softly pronounced gua.

26: Brüning--50 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 574

Generally speaking, I found the Indians hospitable and generous. Whenever we entered one of their houses at mealtime, we were instantly invited to partake of their food, even if it was evident that they themselves did not have too much. However, they expect to find this type of courtesy in others. The Indians would take it as an insult if one would refuse a drink which they offer. A person who has refused a drink once may never expect to receive another offer of either drink or food. Later on I shall have an occasion to deal with this subject more thoroughly. I found the Indians honest, and this is also the opinion of the white men who live among them, though the whites are only too inclined to speak ill of the Indians.

26: Brüning--50 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 153, 177

The Indians are very intelligent and mentally alert. They showed great interest in the unfamiliar. Due to language difficulties we were unable to converse with them, and yet, they sensed instinctively what we wanted, and they seemed to be able to read our thoughts and to guess our wishes. I was struck by the thirst of knowledge on the part of some boys, 8-12 years of age, and after I had satisfied their eagerness for learning, they tried to enlighten me concerning the facts that were of their immediate concern. It is a pity that these poor people are not subjected to a better civilizing influence than that which rubber dealers are able to give, for one can hardly say that the rubber collectors are especially suited for this task. It is highly doubtful whether the missionaries act as a civilizing force. For an Indian who has been baptized may have been received in the pale of the church, but he is still a long way from civilization. On the contrary, upon becoming a Christian he hastens to do away with his good character features and to adopt the vices of civilization. During our return trip a number of older boys were baptized by an Augustine monk who accompanied us. But I had the impression that their fathers were chiefly prompted to this step by the gifts (such as large colored handkerchieves and glass pearls) which the monks offered.

26: Brüning--50 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 152, 762

The Indians are very sensitive with regard to both kind actions and insults. During our trip down the Marañón we found a grave, not very old, in the house of the Curaca Laichape in Huaracaiyo. When we inquired, we were told that this was the final resting place of one of the wives of the Curaca: she had hanged herself a short time ago because her drunken husband had slapped her in the face. A rubber collector told us of a similar case that had happened a few months earlier at another place.

26: Brüning-- 50 [4] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 152, 177

The whites regard the Indians as treacherous and revengeful...But I have heard of instances where rubber collectors made use of the Indians to eliminate burdensome competitors in the rubber business. Persons who are not familiar with all the facts will, of course, raise their voices against the Indian treachery. However, I am inclined to believe that the Indians are fond of this type of business, since there is innate in them something of a bloodthirsty tiger, and their animal instincts can be easily provoked. The whites, too, are guilty in this respect since they did equip the Indians with modern shooting arms. I have not been in a single native house where I did not find at least a few Winchester repeating rifles (latest model type!). These modern weapons in the hand of the Indians constitute a two-edged sword, as we learned in the year 1904.

26: Brüning--50-51
116, 361

(1902) 1928

Jívaro

The Indians like to dwell in the vicinity of rivers. Once they have found a suitable spot, they start by clearing out a lot. [51] Such clearing is necessary everywhere, for there is no territory without forest. On the clearing a temporary hut is built out of the timber which the clearing process had yielded. More trees are then cut down to obtain a larger area for the fields where they plant Yucca, corn, cotton, bananas, and maní. This field is as a rule somewhat removed from the house and in the middle of the forest. I have not been able to find out the reason for this. They do it perhaps because there is no suitable land close to the river, where the huts are set up, or for some other reason. As they go along, they collect the material for their permanent home. The erection of the permanent dwelling is a slow process, and occasionally it may take several years before it is ready since they work on it only seldom and with long interruptions.

26: Brüning--51
116, 342

(1902) 1928

Jívaro

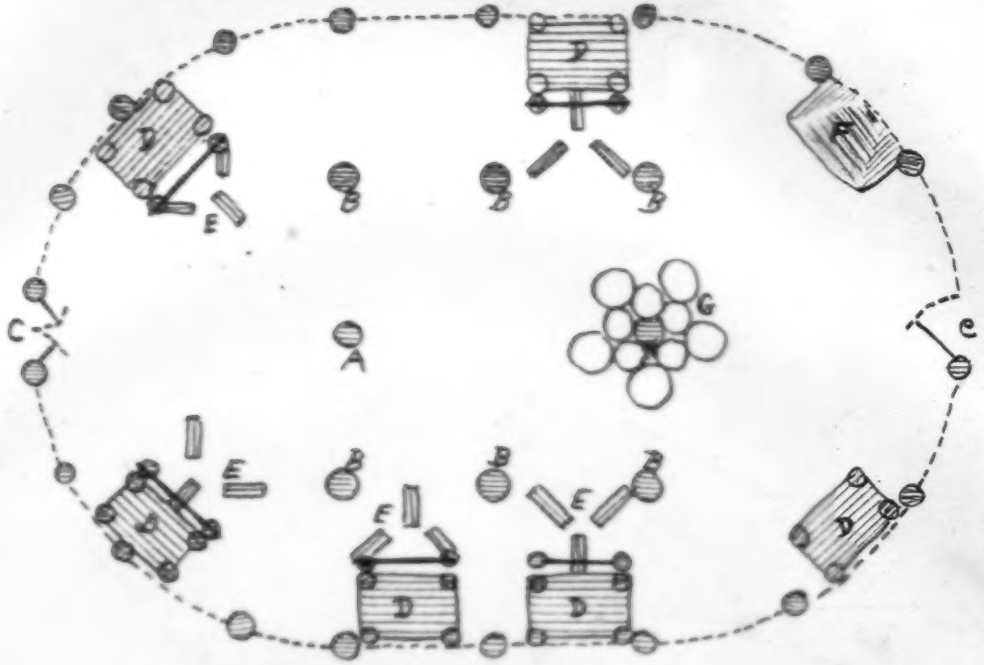


Figure 1. Groundplan of a Hut.

116, 342

Construction begins with the erection of a provisional scaffold which serves as a support for the workmen. The ground plan of the house (Fig. 1) has almost the shape of a large oval, that is to say, the two long sides run parallel, and at each end there is a half circle. Two round, smooth trees, 6 - 6.5 meters in length, constitute the foundation of the house. These trees are set up as uprights in the centers (A in the drawing) of the two half circles. On top the two uprights are connected by the roof-tree. On either side of the central uprights three additional uprights (B), shorter than the central ones, are set up. The tops of these outside uprights are connected with the roof-tree by means of a square frame. The walls are formed by means of thin posts which on top are connected with each other. The rafters rest on these thin posts and, in turn, support the laths. Everything is firmly tied with lianas, bast, and chambira. Next comes the roof, which is built with special attention as you may expect it in a country where there is hardly a day without rain. The material used are the leaves of various palm trees that had been seasoned long in advance. In Timasto, I have seen a special storehouse for the prepared plaited leaves, that had been stored here over a long period of time. A layer of large, pinnate and plaited palm leaves is first placed upon the laths. (Illustration number 1 shows such palm leaves, partly plaited, in the foreground.) Next, loose leaves are placed upon the first layer (see Illustrations 2, 3, and 4). The roof projects about one meter beyond the wall. When I first visited one of these houses in S. Antonio [52] on the Muchingis (a village about one rowing-hour distant from Nazaret),

26: Brüning--51-52 (1902) 1928 Jívaro-2
116, 342

I beheld with admiration a roof which, as to its construction, surpassed all the roofs of the coastal and mountain Indians and even of the whites. The cleanliness and tidiness of the Indians is generally another point in their favor.

26: Brüning--52 (1902) 1928 Jívaro

116, 342

After the completion of the roof the house is ready for occupancy. The outside wall is only gradually finished. The Indians use for it split Chonta palms or even bamboo. These walls permit enough light to go through for the illumination of the interior. As for the doors there do not seem to exist any fixed rules: I found them in the middle of the long side, but also at one end, and even at both ends. I had an opportunity for a closer study of the house of the Curaca Laichape in Huaracayo. In this house there was at one end (toward the river) a double door, and at the other end (toward the forest) a single door. These doors were crudely made out of one piece, as thick boards hewn with the axe. In Huavico I noticed a door which was made of plaited palm leaves. The Curaca, who was our host, used this door as an umbrella when he was once forced to leave the house during a heavy rain.

26: Brüning--52 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 342, 592

The houses are always very spacious since they have to serve more than one family. According to one of my informants, such a house is inhabited by up to 50 persons. As a rule it is the Curaca, as the chief, with his children and their wives and husbands. And since a Curaca may have up to ten wives, the great number of dwellers can be explained without difficulty. The aforementioned house of the Curaca Laichape had a width of 10 meters and a length of 15 meters. 20 - 30 persons lived in this house.

26: Brüning--52 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro

116, 531, 777

In the house in Huavico, which at that time was used by a rubber trader, though it had originally belonged to the Indians, I noticed several grotesquely painted black human figures on the frame which connects the main uprights. The Indians explained that this was a preventive measure against worm holes.

26: Brüning--52 [4] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 361, 103

It is the rule that a settlement consists of only one house. Two houses, as I had seen them, for instance, in S. Antonio, are rarely found together. The various houses form, however, larger or smaller groups, separated from each other by forest and yet connected with each other by narrow footpaths. One such group has a definite name.

26: Brüning--52 [5] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 712, 343

A special type of buildings are the battle towers which can be found in connection with certain dwellings. I did not see one of these battle towers close enough, but I saw them from a distance while travelling by. The dwellings which I inspected did not have any such battle towers. They are placed at a distance from the main dwelling, but are connected with the latter by means of a ladder, which consists of notched tree-trunks. The towers consist of four sturdy uprights, each one 8 - 10 meters high and placed in a square at a distance of three meters from each other. On top there is a platform, which is protected by a parapet (height: 1 meter) and a roof.

Along the wall are the beds, separated from each other by a smaller or larger interspace. According to my white informants, each bed is said to be used by one family. In the sketch (Fig. 1 D) I have drawn in the arrangement of the beds in the house of the Curaca Laichape. These beds are noteworthy in one respect: they do not allow space for the entire body. In Fig. 2 I have sketched such a bed. Four upright posts (a) are sunk into the floor in a square so that they protrude about one meter. Two and two posts are connected by cross-pieces (b) that are inside the square and parallel to the wall. The cross-beam close to the wall is a little higher than the cross-beam at the other end. Longitudinal beams (c) are placed on top of the cross-beams, and the former constitute the base for a layer of finely-split bamboo (d) which extends somewhat upward along the back wall. [53] This split bamboo is a very elastic foundation. Since the bed is somewhat sloping from the head down to the foot end, another wooden cross-beam (g) is placed at the foot end so that the sleeping person would not slide down the bed. This bed has a length of less than one meter, and a grownup person can not stretch out on it. There are therefore, in front of the bed, two fork-shaped posts (e), connected by a cross-beam (f) on which the feet are to rest. Moreover, in front of each one of these beds there are three pieces of round firewood (h) which are kept glimmering all day long by having them extend at one end to the fireplace. In daytime, this glowing wood is used for the preparation of the meals, while at night it will warm the feet of the sleepers. The natives seem to use a special type of firewood; for the wood was precisely round and

of the same thickness in all the houses which I visited. The sides of the beds are covered - 50 - 60 cm. upward from the bamboo foundation - with cloth or with wide pieces of flat tree bark and bamboo. This is frequently done in the front, too, leaving an entrance only in the middle. The cubicles thus formed and enclosed on each side are at any rate used for the children. There are certain variations, especially with regard to the width of the beds.

26: Brüning--53 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 352

In the Aguaruna houses there may be found a great number of low seats, made of light, perhaps Balsa, wood. They occur in a variety of shapes, but I found the one sketched in my drawing the most common one. The one shown in Fig. 3 requires the most labor. All of the seats are made out of one piece of wood. The specimen sketched here had a height of 25 cm. On top there was a circular seat (38 cm. in diameter), slightly carved out in the center. This seat had a short handle. From the top downward the diameter of the wooden block is gradually reduced, and the stem takes on a square shape. At the bottom two longer strips of wood remain and serve as base. These seats are highly uncomfortable for somebody with long legs and not used to this type of seating accomodation, which forces the knees up almost to the height of the chin. A certain training is required if one wants to get up gracefully from this seat after the knees have become numb.

26: Brüning--53
116, 352

(1902) 1928

Jívaro

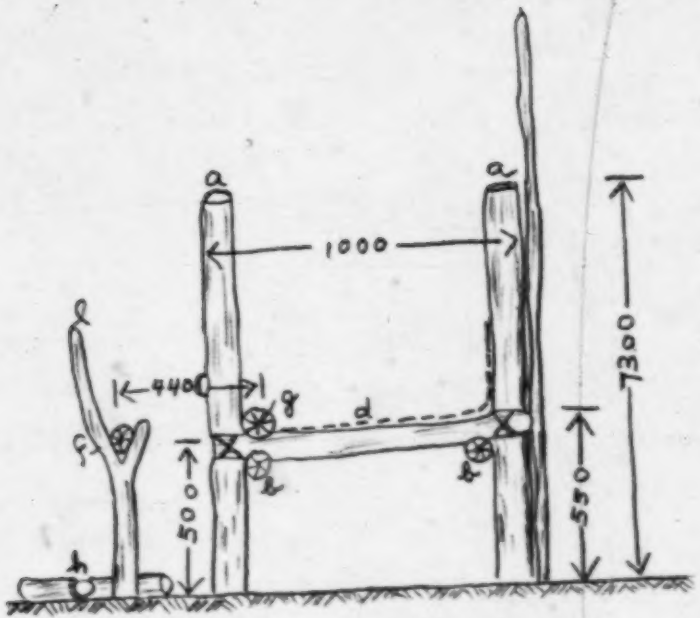
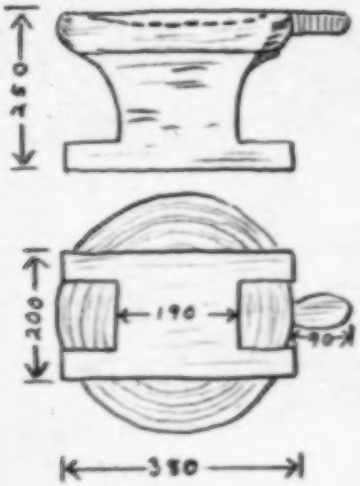


Figure 2. Cross-section of a Bed.



[Translator's comment: Figure 3 is not numbered. The caption should read: Cross-section and Bird's-eye View of a Seat.]

26: Brüning--53-54 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 352

The free spaces between the beds are occupied with square stands designed for storing various utensils, chiefly pots and bowls. One of the semi-circular ends of the house seems to be the special reserve for the women. Here are a great number of these stands, all covered with earthenware, as one may see [54] on Illustration number 2. These stands are made or 4 upright posts, each one approximately two meters long. On top there is a bamboo platform with the pots. Around the upright beam which forms the center of the semicircle there is the Indians' greatest treasure: many pots with what the whites call Masato (Nijamantši in the Aguaruna language), a brew made out of the yucca root; occasionally one may find there pots containing dishes made in advance. On one occasion I was served cold monkey-soup out of one of these pots, and this as a supplement to the regular meal.

Moreover, there are stands for the weapons, blowguns, spears, rifles and carbines, all set up upright.

This takes care of the most conspicuous household objects. I shall describe some of the smaller utensils later on as the opportunity arises. I shall report now on a few visits which I made in various houses. I shall describe my general impressions and, at the same time, the everyday life of the Indians.

26: Brüning--54 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 574, 103

I paid my first visit to two houses, close together in S. Antonio on the Muchingis River. The name S. Antonio was given to this settlement in honor of its Curaca Antonio by one of the most important rubber collectors, who lived in Nazaret, which is some 800 meters distant from the mouth of the Muchingis River. I do not know how the Indians themselves call "S. Antonio." I regard this random changing of place names a great nuisance. The same rubber collector had in most instances given new names to almost all the Indian settlements along the upper Marañón, and he had chosen the names from the names of his own family and had prefixed them with a San. This is also customary in other regions of Peru. You will not find the name of the Muchingis River on any map or elsewhere. This river is called Imaza or Chuchunga on Raimondi's map (number seven). Another of its names is Chiriaco, which means: Cold Water. I prefer the name Muchingis since, as the very same rubber collector informed me, it is used by the Indians who live along its banks.

26: Brüning--54-55 (1902) 1928 Jívaro-1
116, 574, 273

From Nazaret the canoe brings you in one hour up the river to the village S. Antonio, situated, like Nazaret, on the left bank of the river. When we arrived, a number of women were busy collecting maní in baskets and carrying them into the house. (This maní had been spread out in the sun for drying purposes.) Between the women children were playing. The Curaca Antonio lost no time in presenting himself. He was dressed in a khaki suit, trimmed with golden galloons and metal buttons. He seemed to be quite proud of his suit, though this hangover from civilization was rather dirty and shabby. He had received it as a present from the rubber collector in Nazaret. Instantly he invited us to enter one of the houses, where he placed himself on one of the low seats motioning to us that we should do so likewise. He called on the women to serve us Masato. One after the other of these women came with their drinking cups, and one had to accept each one of them, though it requires the stomach of an Indian to carry out these rites of politeness. We reciprocated by giving him needles, sewing yarn, and small round mirrors. The house was very tidy and clean. I counted eight beds. In the course of time male Indians arrived, all eager to drink Masato. We also visited the other house which was still open on the sides (Illustration number 2).

Soon many Indians appeared, decorated with the ornaments of war, most of them armed with Winchester repeating rifles, and all of them drunk, which did not prevent them from drinking more Masato. I was accompanied by employees of the rubber collector, and

they told me that these drunken Indians had come from an assembly where they had made a brew from the narcotic liana [55] called Ayahuasca (a Quichua word) by the whites and Náktém by the Indians. They had made the brew in order to get enlightened as to the feasibility of a certain raiding expedition. It may very well have been the decision with regard to the revolt against the whites which happened in 1904. In spite of their drunkenness all of these Indians behaved properly, they even appeared very amiable.

26: Brüning--55 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 273, 579

We have been informed of occasional brawls between drunken Indians. In the foreground of Illustration 2 one can see one of these noble warriors standing next to a member of our expedition and holding a drinking cup to his mouth. The small woman is submissively waiting until her master has emptied the cup so that she can fill it again.

116, 574

When we first visited the house of the Curaca Laichape in Huaracayo we found there, with the exception of an old and almost blind Indian, only women and children. Our unexpected visit made evidently no impression upon the inhabitants of the house. We moved freely about the big house, and nobody paid any attention to us. Most of the women were seated on their beds, talked to their children or were just plain idle. Others were busy preparing the meal, and one was engaged in the making of pottery. She had in front of her a large lump of blueish clay which was extremely pliant. She took a piece and formed it into a long sausage by rolling it between her hands. She applied the sausage to the rim of the pot and fastened it there by kneading it. In this manner she added one roll after the other until the pot was finished. Unfortunately, I have no information as to how this earthenware is baked, but I have seen many containers, especially drinking bowls, glazed with a brown laquer.

We had stayed in the house for a short while, when the men appeared, one after the other. One of them had killed with his blowgun a number of small, many colored birds, which he began to skin right away in order to use their skin as decoration. He cut off the legs, took out the skull, but left the beaks. It seems that drying is all that these skins need. The skinned body of the bird was put, without further ado, upon a pointed stick, and after a short roasting over the fire it was consumed by the Indian.

Aside from the usual utensils we found in this house the grave of one of the five wives of the Curaca Laichape: she had hanged herself after her sense of honor had been

outraged. The grave was marked by an earthen mound (height: 70 cm.) which had the dimensions of a body. It was close to the wall of the house. I cannot explain the presence of this grave inside the house, for, in general, I have been told by the whites, the Indians give up their house after a person has died and was buried therein.

The Curaca Laichape was clad with shirt, trousers, and cap. He spoke a little Spanish. Later on he accompanied us to the Puerto Meléndez. He had taken along two of his relatives as boatsmen. The three proved to be very trustworthy and docile people.

26: Brüning--55-56 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 231

Many dogs are in evidence everywhere in the Indian houses. They are tied to the tops of the bedposts so that they can rest on the beds. They barked violently when we approached, and they pulled furiously on their liana lines. They are small snappish mongrels. The women give them special attention, and once in a while the dogs would be escorted out of the house so that they could relieve nature. [56] It seemed to me as if the food for the dogs was prepared with special care. In the case of puppies I have witnessed how the Indian woman first chewed the food and then offered it to the dog out or her own mouth. Very young puppies are carried by the women in the fold of her upper dress and they are allowed to suck on the women's breasts. On their travels the natives tie the dogs to some object on the resting place in the open field, and the dogs may lie down on a large leaf of some plant which is placed there for the purpose. I have never seen dogs running wild. The whites told me that the Indians use their dogs for hunting purposes. On this subject, however, I have not been able to assemble definite data.

26: Brüning--56
116, 231

(1902) 1928

Jívaro

Aside from dogs the Indians, or rather the women, keep a great number and variety of other animals, and I was impressed by the fact that all animals become tame very readily, and they have the run of the house and its environs. The Indians have a predilection for the various kinds of parrots and araras, fowl like birds, various types of turkeys, Paujiles and trumpeters, in addition to diostedé and various kinds of monkeys. The Indians bring these animals into the house when they are still young, and it is the women's business to domesticate them.

Of domestic animals, aside from dogs, I have seen, and this in isolated instances, chickens only and, in one case, a pig. According to my white informants, the Indians keep poultry not on account of the eggs (which they do not eat), but for the sake of insect control. During our journey we had a hard time to obtain either poultry or eggs.

26: Brüning--56 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 515

The Indians are very cleanly; they bathe frequently. When it comes to bathing and to body-culture in general, the men surpass the women. When we approached an inhabited settlement on our canoe voyages, our crew would stop a little before in order to take a bath and to comb their beautiful long hair or to make up their faces by drawing a few dots or lines with achiote.

26: Brüning--56 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro

116, 514

I have been told that it is customary among the Indians to move the bowels in the water, and afterward they wash themselves. The following personal observation may have a bearing on this. During a canoe trip our Indians put to shore, and some of them jumped suddenly into the water; after a while they broke a thin twig from a stranded tree and, for a short while, moved it back and forth between their buttocks. At the same time they emitted from their mouths a sound which sounded like a mixture between hissing and whistling.

26: Brüning--56 [4] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 515, 291

When bathing, the Indians dispose of their loin cloth (itipe). With a short piece of string they tie up the prepuce in front of the glans. In isolated cases I noticed that the Indians tied the penis string to a stronger waist string, an operation which pulled the penis upward. The waist string is also used to fasten the loin cloth. According to information received from the whites, the tying-up of the prepuce is motivated by the fact that a small fish (carnero) may be found at certain points of the Marañón River and its tributaries; this carnero is said to enter the urinary tract, thereby causing painful inflammations. If there was a sudden downpouring of rain during our canoe voyages, the Indians used to store the itipe in a waterproof basket and afterward tie up the prepuce.

26: Brüning--56-57 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 302

Men and women wear their hair long and let it come down over the shoulders. In front they cut it off straight at the height of the eyes so that it would not interfere with the vision. The women seem to be satisfied with that, while the men bestow great attention to their hair. Aside from the fact that they [57] wash it frequently, they also dye it from time to time. Every moment they comb their hair. To have it handy at all times, they even leave the comb in the hair, which is frequently the case with the female inhabitants (regardless of race or social status) of the coastal areas. As a rule the hairdo of the men is distinguished from that of the women, aside from the greater care taken, by the fact that they have two strands of hair, one on each side, hanging over their faces. These strands are formed by winding sewing thread around part of the hair. These frontal strands are of varying length, but always shorter than the hair that falls down the shoulders. These strands are called akáhít in the Aguaruna language. (Cp. Illustrations 4 & 5)

26: Brüning--57 (1902) 1928 Jívaro

116, 302

Both sexes dye their teeth black. For this they use two methods. Most frequently they rub their teeth with a small berry whic is the fruit of the yanamúk plant, a low, herbaceous, densely growing plant. Or they use the leaf of a plant which they call piú. First they chew these leaves, then they rub their teeth with it. Either procedure keeps the teeth black for more than one week.

Both sexes paint their faces, necks, arms, and chests. I have also seen paintings on the stomachs of men. Here again, the women use far less time and care in this respect. The most frequent mode of painting that can be found in men and women alike is the blackening of the hands, the neck, the shoulders, and the upper portion of the chest and back. If I understood it correctly, then this coloring is said to serve a practical purpose: to repel gnats and mosquitos. The coloring is done with the juice of a fruit which the Aguaruna language calls Súa (the whites call it huíto - Genipa oblongifolia is the botanical term). I had an opportunity to watch one of our crewmen preparing the juice: the fruit has the size and shape of a goose egg. The fruit is first skinned, then it is well chewed, piece by piece. The chewed mass was then spit upon a small quantity of wool taken from the balsa tree (Ochroma piscatoria ?). The wool is placed on a broad fresh leaf. After the entire fruit is chewed, the mass is wrapped into the leaf and roasted for a while over glowing charcoal. The parts of the body are rubbed with the wool which is permeated by the juice. The paint is said to last for about 14 days. The súa juice is also used to make parallel lines of varying thickness around the arms and legs. To accomplish this, the Indians make use of small wooden rollers that have notches all around. The extent of the wood corresponds to the thickness of the lines, while the notches correspond to the space in between. These small rollers (Fig. 4) are wetted with the súa and then rolled over the body. In Aguaruna these rollers are called

súa-pain-tómate, which evidently means: wood for the application of súa or something of a similar nature. In the face, but chiefly on the chest and even on the upper part of the stomach, various lines and, occasionally, figures are drawn with the help of a piece of wood. (Cf. Illustration number 5, the Indian to the left.) One ornament which I have observed frequently is shown in Drawing number 5. From time to time the hair is also dyed with the help of súa.

Figure 5. Painting Pattern (on page 58)

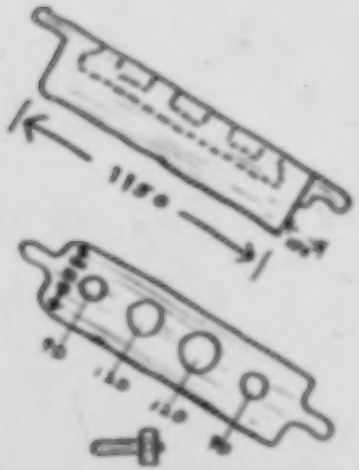


Figure 4. Rollers Used for Body-Painting.

26: Brüning--58 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 302, 415

Every day the face is painted with achiote (ipáko) which is made up into an ointment with the help of some fat. The patterns consist chiefly of round dots (diameter ca. 25 - 30 mm.) and wide, symmetrically arranged lines. Preferably they paint two spots in the cheek-bone region. But before the pattern is applied in bold strokes, the face is rubbed with dry achiote. The achiote ointment is stored in small bamboo containers.

26: Brüning --58 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 304

Aside from these two modes of ornamentation I did see actual tattooing, but only in the cases of a few men. It consisted of rows of black dots (diameter ca. 1 - 1.5 mm.) on the chin, the cheeks, the tip and the bridge of the nose. In a few instances I noticed this tattooing only on one of these points, in other cases on various places.

26: Brüning--58 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro

116, 291

Men have only one piece of clothing: the itipe, a square piece of cotton, held by a waist string and usually reaching down to the ankles. It is light and has chocolate-brown stripes. One specimen in my collection has a width (around the hips) of 140 cm. and a length (from the hips to the ankles) of 70 cm. Two pieces, each one 70 x 70 cm. are sewn together. Here and there a man would wear a shirt, trousers and a cap. Boys up to the age of eight go stark naked.

The women's dress is called tarátše. It is somewhat larger than that of the men and of a solid chocolate-brown color. A square piece of cotton is sewn together with a few stitches at the two corners on one side. Occasionally it is only pinned together (sometimes with a thorn), or it is simply tied into a knot. Then it is pulled over the head and over the left arm, so that the knot will rest on the right shoulder, while the left shoulder remains bare. The open right side is overlapping and held together around the waist by means of a belt. I believe to have observed that the part which is stitched together always rested on the right shoulder. (My only clear photograph of women, Illustration 3, seems to belie this statement, but I discovered that I exposed the negative through the plate.) The tarátše reaches down to half of the calves or to the ankles. Fashion does not seem to prescribe anything definite. Old women and young girls wear their dresses shorter than young married women. Girls are clad from their infancy on.

26: Brüning--58 [5] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 177, 286, 462

The material used for clothing is nowadays in many instances of European make, at least in the case of women's dresses. They obtain this material, which is nothing but ordinary unbleached muslin. (tocuyo), through barter. They themselves dye it brown. I noticed that the itipe of the men was in all instances home made material. The reason for this may lie in the fact that the men do the spinning and weaving.

26: Brüning--58 [6] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 287

Formerly they are said to have worn bast clothing. A white person in Huavico told me that bast is still worn along the upper course of the Senepe River. I was able to acquire for my collection a piece of bark cloth (kamúš). It is 92 cm. long and 100 cm. wide. The two corners at the sides that measure 100 cm. are tied into a knot, from which I conclude that this was a woman's dress. An old Curaca in Huavico made a replica of such a piece upon my request. The bark comes from a tree which is likewise called kamúš.

26: Brüning--58 [7] (1902) 1928 Jívaro

116, 286, 248

For their own home production of clothing the Indians cultivate a small amount of cotton (uhúti), which they themselves spin and weave.

The only special ornament which I noticed the women were wearing was an additional belt. [59] The belt in my collection has a length of 154 cm. and a width of 3.5 cm. It has a dirty light brown color with black lines, and it was woven by the Indians themselves. The ends of the warp protrude 4 cm., and they are braided into thin plaits. At each end, at the lower edge, there are specially prepared pieces of shell which, when clanging together, produce the sound of our glass prisms. At the extreme ends there are small bundles of tukan feathers and, as a specialty, a small tassel of red sewing yarn, and between the shell pieces the points of the tukan beaks as well as the shells of some fruit. With the exception of the feathers all objects are strung on long thin glass pearl-threads.

26: Brüning--59 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 286

For spinning purposes the Indians use the ordinary simple spindle tš(i) kít(a), which is still common everywhere in Peru, with this difference, however, that the spindle of the Aguarunas is relatively rather big. The specimen in my collection has a length of 67 cm. It is made of chonta wood. The whorl (sémp(i)) consists of a thin disc of turtle-shell (?) and has a diameter of 47 mm. With the help of this simple tool they are able to make a very fine and even yarn (ikóngamo).

Their weaving apparatus is likewise hardly different from the one which is in general use in Peru. It is a distinguishing feature, however, that the Aguaruna Indians combine the two ends of the warp with a thin stick (itšúve kamantšá), that is to say, that they form an endless warp, while in the case of the coastal looms each end of the warp is fastened by itself to one of the pieces of wood.

Their type of loom is best illustrated by my drawing in Fig. 6. The upper piece of wood (númi payánko) is tied to some post of the building. The lower wood is, when in use, tied to the lower part of the weaver's back by means of a belt (yúngua). The whole thing is thus kept straight by the weaver's body.

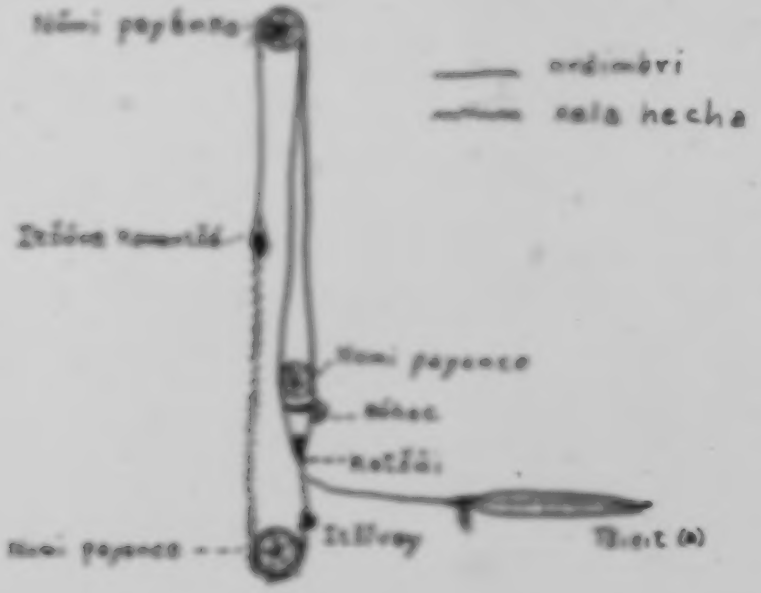
In my diagram hóhac signifies a thin stick to which are fastened, by means of small loops, one half of the warp threads so that the latter may be exchanged. Katšúi (cachui) is a piece of wood that is, in cross-sectional view, wedge-shaped and serves to fasten the woof. Itšívay is the broad-holder [Breithalter in German ?]. The shuttle is called tšikit(a) (chiquita).

26: Brüning--59 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 386, 436

For dyeing purposes the Indians use the leaf of a tree which they call yamakáy. The dye stuff is chocolate-brown. I cannot tell whether they dye the cotton or rather the yarn. They dye fabrics which they acquire through barter.

26: Brüning--59 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 286, 404

Figure 6. Cross-section of a Loom.



26: Brüning--59-60 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 301, 237, 777

The Indians, while wearing very simple clothes, have a great variety of ornaments, especially the men. In contrast to [60] the cultural life of other countries, it is the Indian male that devotes more time to the adornment of his exterior than the Indian woman. The woman does not have the time for it: she is the working part. I believe that I may divide the ornaments into two categories: the ornaments used in everyday life, and ornaments used in connection with festive occasions only.

Into the first category we may place the bracelets made of the skin of the iguana lizard. The natives cut the skin crosswise so that they obtain rings that are closed and about two centimeters wide. When wetted the skin may be stretched and easily slipped over the hand. Upon drying the bracelet shrinks and cannot slip off the arm. Men and women wear several of these bracelets around the wrist. Even the rubber collectors who live among the Indians wear these bracelets. These bracelets are said to prevent the wearer from becoming tired while working.

26: Brüning--60 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 301

The necklace (poékta), is worn by men and women alike, (also belongs in this category) Nowadays such a necklace almost generally consists of a band which is approximately 3-4 cm. wide. This band is in straight cross-stripe studded with small white porcelain buttons of European make. It embraces the neck tightly, in the manner in which the sayuelo is worn by the catholic priests of the region. Animal teeth, seed kernels, small nuts and polished shell pieces are worn dangling from the front of the lower edge. These shell pieces are of some value to the Indians, and they are said to occur at the mouth of the Pongo de Uta. On my return trip I looked for these shells, but I was unable to get hold of them. This does not imply that they do not occur there. My stay was too short, and there was no time for closer investigation. Moreover, it is quite possible that they occur only in certain seasons of the year.

24: Brüning --60-61 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 281

In Illustration number 6 you will find four necklaces of my collection. Number 1 has sixteen strings with small, black, flat, and crosswise perforated seeds. Thirteen of these strings are, except for the ends, unconnected, while the three lowermost strings are interconnected by means of pendants. These pendants consist chiefly of seven groups of 4 - 5 connected hard, nutbrown fruit-shells (of the nut-type). Five of these groups hang on short strings which carry small red glass-pearls. [61] In one group three strings have small blue glass-pearls, while two have small white glass-pearls. The strings of the seventh group have only small white glass-pearls. Between these groups of fruit shells there are three ground pieces of shell, likewise on a string carrying glass-pearls. The string is drawn through a hole in the shell so that the latter can freely pendulate. The ends of this string are attached to the three lowermost strings.

26: Brüning--61 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 301

Necklace number two. It consists of eight strings on which black seeds are strung. The seeds seem to be the same as in no. 1, but they are a little larger and better formed. These eight strings are connected by cross-strings, spaced about two centimeters from each other. At each cross-connection hangs a pendant. Six of these pendants are a sort of nut, just like in no. 1., and arranged in groups of two or three. The small strings to which they are attached are strung with the same seeds as the main strings. The four other pendants--three of which containing four little strings each, while one has only three strings--consist of larger black seeds, the lowermost being somewhat larger than the upper ones.

Necklace number three. Four strings with larger black seeds. The strings are loose except for the middle where they are connected by the pendants. These pendants consist of polished shell pieces, two of them, each one different. The larger shell is completely flat. Another pendant is a large blue faceted glass-pearl which hangs on two strings on which small red glass-pearls are strung. The fourth pendant is a small bundle of tree bark. The bark had been folded and stitched together with thread at the sides. This bundle may contain a talisman.

Necklace number four. A double string holding 34 groups of pendants, each one consisting of paired nutbrown fruit-shells. The two main strings as well as the short strings of the pendants are strung with light pink glass pearls.

All of these necklaces do not surround the entire neck. They are tied together in the back with a simple thin thread.

26: Brüning--61 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro

116, 301

Women wear in addition many pearl necklaces which hang down in front of the breasts in larger or smaller windings. Glass pearls are a much-desired article of the barter trade. I have seen mostly blue and white ones. Necklaces of this type must be registered in the second category, since they are extraordinary pieces of ornamentation and not worn everyday. The women regularly wear a bundle of various seeds and nutshells. But this bundle does not count as an ornament since it is not worn openly. I was given the following names for the various seeds: matot, pangána, dope, tšangínake, tšitšimjits, sãunak, and sikût. Unfortunately, I did not have these objects when I would have had a chance to have them identified. Later, when I received such a bundle for my collection, I had left the Indians and could not ask them anymore. I know, however, that sikût means vanilla. Judging by the smell I should say that eẽpingo must have been part of the bundle, at least in my specimen. Tied to the bundle was also a comb (timúš). The entire bundle is fastened to a long thin string which at the other end is fastened to the shoulder connection of the dress. The bundle is worn under the dress on the bare body between the breasts.

26: Brüning--61-62 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 301

An ear decoration for both sexes may be regarded as another everyday ornament. It consists of small bundle of yellow and orange-red feathers of the tukan. On top of this small feather bundle is a small cross-piece which is put through the string-loop in the ear-lobe. The loop is a permanent fixture of the perforated lobe.

On the left bank of the Marañón River, in Numpatcai, I have seen two old men with pieces of bamboo (kahíst) [62] in the earlobes. These were pieces of thin bamboo (diameter abt. 1 cm.), 5 cm. in length, which they had stuck through the lobes. The whites there told me that this was a feature that distinguished the Antipa Indians from the Aguaruna, but which formerly had been worn by all members of the tribe.

26: Brüning--62 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 292

The festive ornaments of the Indians are the following: the long hair is tied in the back with a band, to the ends of which are attacked colorful feathers and entire bird skins or bundles of feathers with long human hair. One type of band is woven, 13 mm. wide and, taken doubled, 44 cm. long. At both ends of the doubled band there are 28 strings. On each one of these strings there are on top three black fruit seeds, then a thin bird bone (85 mm. long), again two seeds, another bone, and two more fruit seeds. At each one of the ends of the strings there is a bird skin, most of them from the tukan, only one from a wood-pecker-type of bird. At one end there are the wings of various beetles, such as are also used for ear decoration. The bird skins are tied to the strings with the beaks. The skull has been removed, and the legs are likewise missing. The skins are stuffed with vegetarian wool.

The second type is a plaited string (width: 3 mm.), 218 cm. long. With the help of resin a bundle of human hair and two bundles of yellow and red tukan feathers are tied to each end of this string.

26: Brüning--62 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 292

Another type of headdress has wide woven bands with long loose strings. These are worn wound round the head.

a) has a width of 62 mm. and a length of 49 cm. The ends of the warp, projecting on either side, are twisted into strings that have a length of 50 cm. each. Two of these strings are used to tie the band together so that it can be placed around the head. The other strings are allowed to hang loosely over the back. To one of these strings a small bundle of yellow and blue feathers is attached. The part of the band which runs over the forehead is decorated with a polished shell and with a bundle of yellow and red tukan feathers.

b) is a band that has a width of 53 mm. and a length of 43 cm. The strings at both ends are twisted and have a length of 49 cm.

c) is 62 mm. wide and 44 cm. long. The strings have a length of 45 cm.

Three colors occur in all three of these bands: white and two shades of brown.

26: Brüning--62 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro

116, 292

Another head decoration consists of a ring (hoop or circlet) which is made out of spirally split bamboo or a liana (the whites call it támši). Two such rings are placed one on top of the other, and they are connected with braided strings. Between the two circlets are alternately placed red and yellow tukan feathers. This head decoration is called tawáš (cf. Illustration 4, the fourth warrior from the left). The tawáš has a diameter of 17 cm.

Another head-circlet consists of plaited támši (width: 6 cm.) which is covered with the fur of a monkey's tail. This fur is brown and black in the middle. At one of the edges there hangs a bird skin. This head decoration is called atsehókta (cf. Illustration 4, second warrior from the left.)

Moreover, I have seen another circlet formed of ball shaped flowers (similar to our clover blossoms, yet smaller). See Illustration 4, third warrior from the left.

The Aguaruna Indians permanently sport a small loop in the perforated lobe. This loop is designed for various pieces of ornaments. [63] Usually, it is nothing but a small bundle of tukan feathers, that are glued together with some resin. But for festive gala occasions the Indians wear long strands of beetle wings, the wings coming from two types of beetles. This ear decoration is called akite. In the following I shall describe some of these decorations.

Fig. a. This ear decoration is fastened by means of a small perforated bone. Its upper part consists of two strings strung with tiny glass-pearls. To this are appended two strands of greenish-iridescent beetle wings--the beetle being a sort of carabid ? -. Each strand is finished off with a bundle of red and yellow tukan feathers. On top, where the strands begin, two bundles of these feathers and one tuft of hair are seen dangling. The whole has a length of 30 cm, but is of relatively light weight. This ear decoration has a special name (after the beetle wings): akite-tóika.

Fig. b is almost identical with the preceding one, but the tuft of hair and the glass pearls are missing. The fastener is not of bone, but consists of two bamboo splinters glued together with resin. Entire length: 27 cm.

Fig. c has no fastener and no feather bundle. On top it has instead a piece of tukan skin with its feathers. The strings have an elongation with which the decoration is fastened to the ears. Entire length 35 cm.

Fig. d. Each strand is decorated with the wings of certain beetles. One beetle type is called tóika (the same whose wings are used in a - c), the other is called wáwa, which seems to be a buprestid and occurs rather rarely as a decorative element. This ear decoration has on top small blue glass pearls and a bone splinter as a fastener. The entire length is 13 cm. It has a special name: akite wáwa.

The warrior on the right on Illustration number 4 wears long ear decorations such as have just been described.

Cheap European earrings, such as we had brought along for barter purposes, did not please the Indians at all.

One of their main decorations is called dópiš. It consists of a great number of strings, arranged side by side and strung with seeds. They are worn in pairs and thrown over the shoulders so that they cross on the chest and on the back, reaching down to the hips. Three warriors on Illustration number 4 are wearing this kind of decoration.

One specimen consists of 112 double rows, arranged side by side. The whole seems to be one single string, which, later on, was arranged side by side. The part which touches the shoulder is kept together by means of three crosswise-plaited strings. In the middle there are short strings, strung with small colored glass-pearls and with various seed-kernels at the end. If laid side by side, these 112 strings extend to a width of 37 cm. The length, counted from the shoulders to the hips, is 65 cm. The little black seeds (diameter approximately 3 mm.) are called dúšip (e). Over these wide chains, other, smaller ones, are worn, as you can see on Illustration 4. One such specimen consists of 6 double rows of a white and hard berry (yusána[gi]), each one having a diameter of about 8 mm. These six rows are also connected by three cross-strings where they touch the shoulder. Another specimen consists of double rows which are alternately strung with four of these white berries and one red bean-like fruit. The length of the string from the shoulder to the hip is likewise 65 cm.

A sort of belt which the Aguaruna Indians wear around the hips, consists of braided human [64] hair. The rubber collectors told me that this is the hair of their defeated enemies. But when I asked the Indians directly, they denied this and said that it was

their own hair. I think however, that the rubber collectors were right in this instance. The two warriors to the right are wearing such belts.

26: Brüning --64 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 262, 224

The Indians obtain their main articles of food by hunting and fishing. With regard to food they do not seem to be very choosy. They hunt simply everything. Their main hunting weapon is the blowgun. But you can also see firearms, though of the worst kind and all of them single-barrelled. Gun powder, shot and matches with protection against humidity are highly desirable barter objects, and every traveller should bring them along.

26: Brüning--64 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro

116, 411

The blowgun (óm) has a length of 2.5 - 3 meters. On its outside it is tapering from the bottom toward the top. At the bottom there is usually a straight mouthpiece made of bone. The blowgun is made of chonta wood out of two longitudinal halves. In each half a semicircular channel is crudely cut. Each half is then tied over a tight rope which is smeared with water and sand. By moving the half of the blowgun back and forth on this rope, the channel is made smooth by the action of the sand. After the two halves have been prepared in this manner, they are taken off the rope and united after a cleaning process. The two halves are held together by a sort of bast which is wound in spirals from one end to the other. A layer of resin (pengái) is smeared over the bast. I observed how the Indians, in order to smooth the resin, heated a smooth piece of pottery over a fire and moved it lightly over the resin, which thereby is caused to melt to an even surface. Near the mouthpiece each blowgun has a sight (omgomió), consisting of a short narrow piece of bone which is pasted on to the resin in a longitudinal direction.

26: Brüning--64 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro

116, 411

The thin splinter of the wood of two palm trees, kungúk (i) and cincúk (i), is used as a missile (çénçak). Pieces about 20 cm. in length are cut off from these palms, and from these pieces thin splinters are cut lengthwise. The darts are smoothed by scraping with a knife, and one end is shaped into a point. As a rule, these points are poisoned with utši, especially the darts used for larger animals. This poison is imported in thin bamboo containers from the Ucayali. The rubber collectors along the Ucayali River bring the poison to Iquitos and Barranca from where it is brought upstream on the Marañón River. Some of the Indians make this trip with the express purpose of obtaining this poison. The Aguaruna Indians themselves prepare a poison which they call çeáç, but they do not regard it as effective as the utši.

In order to make the poison ineffective in animals that are to be eaten, the Indians right away rub kitchen salt into the wound.

26: Brüning--64-65 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 411

The arrows are kept in a quiver made of thick bamboo (tónta); therein is a bundle of straw tšipáti) which is especially prepared for this purpose. The straw prevents the arrows from falling out even if the quiver be turned upside down. The quiver is carried around the wrist by means of a loop. A totuma fruit (called máti in the Quichua language) is fastened to the quiver by means of a string. The totuma fruit is stuffed with the wool of the balsawood tree (wambóš, a Quichua word). The wool can be withdrawn through a small round opening. If an arrow is to be used, the hunter takes out a little of this wool, winding it round the obtuse lower end of the arrow so that it will fit exactly into the opening of the blowgun. Prior to this a notch is made about three centimeters below the point of the arrow [65] so that the poisoned top will break off when it enters the animal. The notches are made with the sharp teeth of some animal which I was not able to identify. The lower jaw of this animal dangles from the quiver. The term for the tool is páni . In order to be able to clean the blowgun, the Indians always carry at the side of the quiver a long rolled-up piece of a flexible reed which, at one end, is equipped with a tuft of vegetarian wool (hápik).

26: Brüning--65 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 224

To prevent too much deviation from the straight line, the Indians try to shoot their arrows in a vertical direction as often as possible.

In Huavico I witnessed a scene in which an older boy shot with the arrow from his blowgun a pigeon-sized bird that had strayed into the house. The arrow penetrated the bird at a height of approximately 7-8 meters and fastened it to a rafter in the roof.

26: Brüning--65 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 262, 136

The natives chiefly eat the following animals: two types of monkeys, a) the howling monkey (named cotomono by the whites and yakúm in Aguaruna) and b) the spider monkey (called maquisapa by the whites and wáši by the Aguaruna Indians); various types of turkeys, kúyo, onç [e], of which I have seen five; a hocko hen, paujiles, pívi, másu; a trumpeter bird, (tsiva), and many other birds whose names I do not know. In general, they do eat all birds, even the tiniest humming-birds. I have seen it how the Indians skinned a bird, speared it with a pointed stick and, without drawing it, roasted it over the fire and ate it. There is only one bird which they do not eat: they call it cáça. It has the shape of a pheasant, congregates in larger flights and emits a sound which lies halfway between croaking and screeching. The meat has a somewhat bitter taste, as I was able to find out for myself, but it is not so bad that somebody who is half-starved should reject it. [AN: The scientific name is Opisthocomus hoazin.] Of the larger mammals the following are not eaten: cattle, tapir (pamáu), ronsoco (ungumióg) and doe (hápa). [AN: It would be better to say: stag, species of the genus mazama.] The rubber collectors informed me that the Aguaruna Indians identify the doe with the devil. Ronsoco is a large rodent (Hydrochoerus capybara). Could it be that these animals are not eaten simply because they could not be killed with the blowgun--the only aboriginal weapon?

26: Brüning--65 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 224, 251

The Indians frequently go on hunting expeditions in regions that have plenty of wild life. They bring the entire household (men, women, children, dogs, and especially large containers with masato) into a canoe and paddle to the hunting area. These hunting expeditions sometimes last for weeks and frequently even for months. The meat which they obtain is soon made into a durable preserve; part of the meat, however, is eaten right away. To smoke the meat, the natives build on four low posts a grill (size: one square meter) of closely placed bamboo sticks. The meat is placed upon the grill. On top the grill is covered with a roof of palm leaves. A fire is made under the grill, and the natives see to it that there is more smoke than open flames. In this manner the meat is dried and smoked at the same time. The Indians call this apparatus pungámo. Our crewmen frequently built these pungámos close to our camping sites whenever the hunt had yielded more than we needed at the moment. Over the roof the Indians dried their itipes, if they had gotten wet.

When the Indians return from such a hunting expedition, they invite all the neighbors to a big festival. On these occasions, the rubber collectors told us, they eat up in a few days what they had hunted in many a month.

26: Brüning--65-66 (1902)1928 Jívaro
116, 415, 283

The most common hunting weapon of the Indians is the blowgun. But frequently we saw cheap single-barrelled hunting rifles. The Indians carry their ammunition, etc. in a [66] hunting-bag (wampatš), which is fashioned like a net out of strings which the Indians themselves had twisted. They twist these strings out of palm fiber between the palm of the hand and the naked thigh. The fiber is called tšambira by the whites and kumáy by the Indians. The hunting-bag is somewhat narrower on top. They wear it over the right shoulder under the left arm on a band which is plaited out of the same strings.

26: Brüning--66 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 226, 262, 411

In addition to meat the Indians eat a great deal of fish. Fishing is done by a variety of methods. They obtain the largest catch when they stupefy fish. For this purpose they use two plants, each one separately. One is the herbaceous plant másu, the other the bark of a liana (tímu). Both are pulverized and thrown in quiet coves of the rivers and brooks. The narcotized fish soon come to the surface where they are speared with long pointed chonta sticks (šikít). These fishing spears have a circular cross-section and a diameter of about 2 cm. Their length is 3 - 3.5 m.

When the rivers are on the rise, the Indians are quick to make an estacada (a sort of grill) of bamboo and place it across the mouths of the brooks and inlets. When the waters are falling again, the fish remain behind these estacadas. The natives even use fish-hooks which are a desirable article of barter.

These are the main articles of food in the realm of fauna. According to the rubber collectors, the natives are said to eat a large beetle larva which occurs in decaying wood.

26: Brüning--66 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 241, 462

Vegetarian foodstuffs are no less numerous than animal foods. We have to distinguish between cultivated and wild-growing plants. The former include the yucca (máma, non-poisonous Manihot), the banana (pandáp), the ground-nut (dúse), and perhaps the sweet potato: camote, (íntši).

As a rule, the fields are in the middle of the forest. Here the man cuts the trees in order to make a clearing. Today he uses bartered steel axes, made in U.S.A. Not so long ago they are said to have used stone axes. In spite of my inquiries I have not been able to see one of these. The rest of the work--the burning of the branches (they leave the burned trunks in the fields), sowing, and harvesting--is done by the women.

The foremost cultivated plant is the yucca (máma). It is the basis for the masato (term used by the whites), the Indian beverage, called nijamántši in the Aguaruna language.

26: Brüning--66 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 262, 252, 137

There is a great variety of wild-growing edible plants, and it would be of great help to the traveller in the primeval forests of the upper Marañón if he would know these plants, for he is frequently forced by circumstances to make use of the prevailing flora. With what keen appetite have we not often devoured some inconspicuous fruit which the Indians designated as edible! Hunger is always one of the most formidable enemies for travellers in this region of the globe. During my short stay with the Aguaruna Indians I learned to know as edible the tender shoots of two palm trees. The names of these palms were tuntuám and uyáy. In order to reach this food one has to cut the entire tree (which brought anguish to my soul, but hunger is all powerful). These shoots are eaten raw or cooked in water. If you cook the shoots, you may drink the water as soup. The taste was similar to that of white cabbage.

26: Brüning--66-67 (1902) 1928 *Jívaro*
116, 262, 137

I have eaten the following wild-growing fruits (or I have watched others eating them): the nut [67] of the ivory-palm before it was fully matured. The Indians calle it tãapi, the whites tagua. The fruit of a passion-flower, called antãímuntãe: It tastes well, similar to our goose-berry. Furthermore, the fruit na(h)ahãip which has the size of a small orange and the yellow color of an orange; its skin, however, has greater thickness and firmness. Its stone is so big that there is little space left for the sweet watery meat. We found this fruit at the eastern foot of the mountain, a little above Nazaret on the Marañón. Along the Marañón tributaries we found a fruit which is called pacáy in the Quichua language and huava along the north coast of Peru. Along the Marañón, however, these fruits can be found not on large trees but on low shrubs. Moreover, the pod was at the most 10 cm. long, while along the coast it had a length up to 50 cm. Otherwise the two fruits seemed to me the same. The Indians call this fruit which grows in their territory wámbokiã. It consists of a dark-green, leatherlike pod in which there are the black beanlike seeds bedded in a white, cottonlike, sweet mass. The white mass is the edible part. The aforementioned are according to my information, the articles of food provided by the primeval forest. But there are certainly more.

26: Brüning--67 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 252, 263, 317

I noticed that all dishes are prepared without salt. But when the cooked food is served, a piece of salt is always served with it. In the case of a liquid dish, the Indian places the salt between two fingers and stirs it into the dish, so that a little of the salt can dissolve. Otherwise they bring the salt to the mouth from time to time, or they lick on it. Salt is a very scarce commodity on Aguaruna territory. They obtain it from the upper Marañón where there are said to be some salty brooks. The salt remains as a dirty ash-colored sediment when they laboriously boil the water down in large pots. In Aguaruna language salt is called wig.

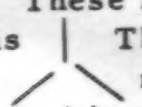
26: Brüning--67 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 264, 515

I have been unable to observe whether the Indians stick to a certain timetable when they take their meals. The few times we visited one of their tambos, we were always served cold food out of one of the numerous pots. They seem to be familiar with the technique of "cooking in advance." Liquid food, for instance, a sort of soup, was served in shallow bowls (piníngе), and solid food was served on the large leaf of a plant, always accompanied by a small piece of salt. In one instance I found in the soup the coarsely cut leaves of the yucca plant: they were boiled with the soup. Liquid stuff is drunk directly out of the bowl. Solid food is brought to the mouth with the hands.

In their tambos they always keep pots with water. I have seen these pots hanging from the ceiling on a thick rope or placed on a trifurcated post that was rammed into the dirt. After each meal the Indian takes a mouthful of this water, rinses his mouth with it and forcefully squirts it over his hands.

26: Brüning--67 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro

116, 252

As pointed out before, in front of each bed there is a fireplace, consisting of round logs of a special wood. These logs have an identical diameter, and they are placed in star formation, like this  They are also used as support for the cooking pot. I had the impression that the major part of their food was cooked in water. I have also noticed that their meat is wrapped in large fresh plant leaves and placed on the fire. In this manner the meat remains juicy. On the other hand, meat is sometimes directly placed on glowing charcoal, without having been wrapped first; this is the way it is frequently done here on the coast.

116, 273

As a beverage the Indians prepare a brew from the yucca. This beverage is not only a stimulant but also of nutritional value, as you may judge from the way it is being prepared. Here is the manner of preparation: first the yucca is skinned and washed [68] Then it is cut crosswise into pieces 8 or 10 cm. in length, so that they can be easily placed in a pot. After the pot has been filled to the brim with such pieces, water is added so that the entire yucca is covered. The pot is then covered with a large leaf which is tied around the top. The pot is kept over a fire until the yucca is done. Then the water is poured off. They wait until the yucca gets cold. The women who are seated around the pot, take a part of the yucca and chew it, spitting the chewed mass back into the pot. With the help of a sort of kitchen ladle the whole mass is mashed so that the chewed mass is distributed among the non-chewed yucca. This entire mass is called nijamántši. It is now ready for use. In order to prepare the beverage, the woman takes a handful of this mash and puts it in a sort of strainer--a totuma bowl with tiny holes. Water is added to the bowl, and the mash is stirred by hand. The water with the starch granules runs through the holes into the drinking-bowl underneath. The fibers remain in the tutuma and are later thrown away.

This yucca mash is always prepared in great quantities. The storing vessels are sealed with leaves, and the content soon undergoes fermentation, thereby assuming a sour smell and taste. The beverage obtained from this mash is very refreshing, tastes and looks like butter milk. In this state it is slightly intoxicating, but you would have to

116, 273

drink a lot in order to get really drunk. I have never succeeded in this, because I was always full before the drink could show its efficacy. The Indians are able to drink incredible quantities and, as a consequence, become slightly tipsy. They can do without almost anything else, but they must have their nijāmántši.

26: Brüning--68 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 273

When we travelled downstream on the Marañón, we left the main portion of our food supplies (masato and bananas) under a protecting roof which one of the former travellers had built on the high bank of the Marañón approximately opposite the mouth of the Santiago River. We were going to the Puerto Meléndez and hoped to be back in a few days. We wanted to bring our canoes through the Pongo de Manseriche carrying as little load as possible. After our arrival in the Puerto Meléndez, however, the Marañón River began to rise considerably, so that we were forced to stay for a few more days in the Puerto Meléndez. Finally, we were able to make the return voyage. When we arrived at our storage site, we found there only a huge field of slime and mud. The River had risen about 6 meters. The protecting roof was collapsed, and everything was covered with mud. Though there was little hope to find something of our food provisions, the Indians did not hesitate to search through the mud and under the roof for the masato pots, and they were lucky enough to find them, but, judging from the smell, the masato was in a state of definite decay, which did not prevent the Indians from devouring it without water.

26: Brüning--68-69 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 753, 827

In general, the Aguaruna Indians seem to be healthy. In the case of sickness, a small hut is erected far from the settlement at a solitary site in the forest, and here the sick person remains until he recovers or dies. This is the information obtained from the rubber collectors. I have not been able to get any information as to nursing practices.

The Indians are most afraid of coughing and bloody diarrhea. The rubber collectors have constantly warned us of coughing, as the Indians would withdraw if they heard us cough. We had one experience with this on our downstream voyage on the Marañón. We had been told that in the Indian settlement Chipe we would be able to barter some chickens, bananas, and yucca. As we were just about to land, [69] we heard shouting; the women took up their children and fled with them into their houses; the man talked with unfriendly gesticulations, and we were forced to continue our voyage, without knowing the cause for the Chipe reception. None of our three crewmen knew one word of Spanish. When we met some Indians later, Indians who knew a little Spanish, we were told that the chief of the rubber collectors had spread the rumor that we were sick and had the coughing. This rubber collector was very jealous and wanted to preserve his autocracy in that territory; thus he did everything to keep outsiders away. This was perhaps one reason why he did not teach any Spanish to the Indians.

26: Brüning-- 69 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 755

The ordinary sicknesses are cured by the brujo. This is the general Peruvian name for quack and sorcerer. I have not been able to find out what the Aguaruna term was. In a tambo in Huaracayo I had an opportunity to watch a brujo at work. One evening we were assembled in the house of several rubber collectors when we heard a strange singing from a nearby Indian tambo. I was informed that this meant that a brujo was at work. Immediately I went over to witness the procedure. The tambo was completely dark. Nothing could be heard except the forceful voice of the brujo mixed with the whimpering of a woman. I was told that the woman had pains in the leg. The brujo sang with a loud voice. Next he smoked a strong cigar, inhaling the smoke. In between he sucked the aching part of the woman's leg. Then he gnashed his teeth, pretended that he had to vomit and spit, as if to give the impression that he had sucked some foreign matter from the leg. I can not tell how often he repeated this, nor how long the treatment lasted. The brujo acted so realistically, that I was sickened by it and had to leave the hut in order not to vomit myself.

26: Brüning--69 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 755, 787

The same brujo --his name was Kuja--had thought up a little stunt at our expense. Due to the rise of the Marañón we had to stay longer in Meléndez. Since our return was delayed, the brujo said that he had seen it in a vision thatall the travellers, the Indian crew included, had died of small-pox. Since our crew came from Huaracayo, the inhabitants of this settlement were in mourning and had already started to prepare for a mortuary feast. Upon our return we found a great multitude of Indians to receive us. The brujo, whose calculations we had upset, was slightly embarrassed, kept himself aloof, faintly smiling from time to time.

26: Brüning--69-70 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 757, 824

To cure their sicknesses the Indians use various herbs. I have made a collection of these herbs in Huavico. But when our boat was wrecked on our voyage up the Marañón and when we were forced to cross the forest from Nazaret to Bagua Chica on foot, the collection had to be abandoned in Nazaret since we did not have enough porters. Here is a list of my collection:

pihipí - the bulb of a sort of reed; used against insect bites by rubbing the wound caused by the sting.
sapáta - nut of a tree, called avila by the whites; used against toothache.
asángo - seeds used against diarrhea.
otuntú - the decoction of a plant used internally and externally against snake bite.
angpángban - leaves against snake bite.
kunakip - leaves against snake bite and diarrhea. [70]
maikuá - given to children from time to time to purgate them even if they are not sick.
zángu - tobacco plant.

Unfortunately, I am not able to give more detailed information. The notes that went with each plant were lost with the collection. These brief annotations come out of my glossary.

26: Brüning--70 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 595

The Aguaruna Indians have the system of polygamy. I have heard of chieftains that had up to ten wives. Their number seems to depend on the man's ability to support them. One of the Indians in our crew was very nearsighted: we were told he had only one wife since he could not do much hunting on account of his bad eyes.

26: Brüning--70 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 592

The chieftain, his wives and children, constitute a house community. The whites refer to the master of the household with the quichua word kuraka, i.e., chieftain. The Indians used the same term in their conversations with us. I have not been able to find out whether they had an Aguaruna word for it, but one should think so. I noticed two cases in which the son-in-law lived in the tambo of his father-in-law, but I would not be able to say that this is the rule.

26: Brüning--70 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 862, 163, 156

I gained the impressions that there were not many children around. This would explain why mothers suckle their children--as I was told--up to the age of four. I saw it with my own eyes that the children ran to the mother and asked for the breast. The little girls whom I have seen were very timid and clung to their mother as soon as one of us approached; they even refused to accept gifts. The boys, however, were different, and I made friends with them easily.

26: Brüning--70 [4] (1902) 1928 Jívaro

116, 582

The age for marriage does not seem to be definitely set. In one case I saw a girl at the most 10 years old married to an old Indian. The little girl, conscious of her dignity, acted like an old woman in the house. But copulation is said to be ruled out at this early age.

26: Brüning--70 [5] (1902) 1928 Jívaro

116, 292, 562

Married women are distinguished by a narrow band which they wear over the muscle of the upper arm. I failed to indicate in my notes whether it is the right or the left arm. Since this band (patáko) is placed over the arm of very young persons and since it may not be removed, as time goes on the flesh grows over it and sometimes covers it. A widow in Huavico took off her band in my presence and dedicated it to me: it is 12 mm. wide and 21 cm. long.

26: Brüning--70 [6]
116, 462, 482, 285

(1902) 1928

Jívaro

Women as well as men (if the latter stoop to carry a load at all) carry their loads in baskets rather low on the back by means of a belt which is placed on the head.

There are two types of baskets. One kind, chiefly used by women, is an oval basket, about 40 cm. long, 30 cm. wide, and 30 cm. deep. The other basket is almost exclusively used by the men and serves as a storage place for their belongings. It is about 25 cm. wide and just as deep. It has a double wall and a leaf insulation between, so that it is waterproof. Moreover, it has a cover. These baskets are carried in the hand by means of a short handle. Both basket types are made of split bamboo.

26: Brüning- - 71 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 481

When they climb high and smooth trees, the Indians connect their legs (between foot and ankle) with a short piece of firm liana. The semi-circle formed by the liana embraces in climbing part of the tree trunk, and the Indians thereby obtain a firmer footing than if they would encircle the trunk with their naked legs alone.

26: Brüning--71 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 515

An Indian who blows his nose grabs the lower part of his nose with thumb and forefinger and blows his nose into the palm of his hand. The mucus is then thrown off, and the hand is cleaned on any object, sometimes even without preceding disposal of the mucus. But I have never seen that an Indian wiped his hand on a piece of clothing.

When talking and laughing the Indians frequently keep the hollow of their hand in front of the mouth, as may be seen in Illustration number seven (two Indians in the group to the right). If the conversation becomes animated, then they spit frequently in between.

Very strange are the long monologues or prayers (whatever you may call them) which the Indians say in the morning. These are recited very quickly and in a tone which marks a departure from the ordinary tone of conversation. On these morningoccasions, too, they spit frequently and stamp their feet on the ground from time to time (see Nankijukima 75).

They emit a softly pronounced drawling gwa when they are amazed at something.

26: Brüning--71 [4] (1902) 1928 Jívaro

116, 153

Though it seems rather hazardous to make a statement on their intellectual capacity after such a short stay among the Indians, I feel that I should not be completely silent on the subject. I gained the impression that the Indians in general are rather alert. I noticed this especially in the case of youngsters at the age of from 5 to 8 years. I can assure you that some of them were like mind readers when it came to our wishes. When they pass into the age of puberty, they become more reserved. They showed the greatest interest for all objects which they had never seen before, and they were eager to know how these objects were to be used. They exhibited a childlike joy when I permitted them to look through my Zeiss fieldglass, which brought the distant objects near.

While the blowgun is their hunting weapon, the spear is their war weapon. At the same time, the spear is part of the etiquette, for a man would never leave the house without it, even if he would visit only his nextdoor neighbor. It is the weapon that signifies masculine dignity.

Spears with iron points were generally in use when I visited the Indians. The point (see Figure 7) has a socket at the bottom. The shaft is fastened into the socket with the help of resin. The spear or lance has a length of 2 1/2 - 3 1/2 meters. They are said to obtain the iron points by way of barter from the Indians along the upper Senepa. The points are said to come from Ecuador. The spear with the iron point is called nánki by the Indians. Formerly spears were used shaped out of the wood of the chonta palm, and they still occur in isolated instances. The shape of their point is the same as the iron one, but its cross-section shows a somewhat concave outline. Shaft and point are made out of one piece. These chonta lances are called angös.

Figure 7.

Iron Spear Point

26: Brüning-- 71-72 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 411, 177, 436

In all the tambos I found Winchester rifles which they had obtained from the rubber collectors by barter for rubber. But since the Indians most of the time do not have any [72] shot to go with it, these rifles are for the most part ornamental pieces. As a matter of fact, the Indians are not too fond of rifles since, they maintain, their report chases the game off.

In their tambos they have special stands where all the weapons are vertically placed and with great orderliness. Especially the blowguns have to be kept in a vertical position, otherwise they would bend.

26: Brüning--72 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 721, 174

There is an old irreconcilable enmity, in spite of their belonging to the same language group, between the Aguaruna Indians along the right Marañón tributaries and the Huambisa Indians along the upper Santiago. This feud seems to date back to a time prior to the conquest of Peru by the Spaniards. Evidently the Inca penetration went only as far as the right bank of the Marañón; this explains why the Aguarunas adopted many Quichua words. After the Spanish Conquest many of these Indians were more inclined to embrace Christianity. There were a number of missionary outposts along the right bank of the Marañón. It is true, the Spaniards penetrated also the territory on the left bank of the Marañón, but they were incessantly harrassed by the independent Jivaros, for which the so-called submissive Indians had to suffer. These mutual annoyances continue to this day though to a lesser degree.

26: Brüning--72 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 726

Suddenly one party makes a raid on the other, cutting down all living creatures, except the young women who are captured and carried off alive. The heads of the men are cut off in order to reduce them later and to be kept as a trophy of war. The whites call these raids correrías.

The enemy is never openly attacked. He is first spied upon in order to find out how he can be attacked most suddenly. If everything is prepared, they attack the house with clamor, kill everything with their spears and disappear with their booty before help can be obtained. As a rule, the raids are carried out in the morning during moonlight, after the raiders have stealthily approached the house. I asked several Aguaruna Indians to mime a sham raid for me.

26: Brüning--72 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 177, 726

In recent times, the number of correrías has decreased; nevertheless, I was told in the Muchingis River territory that the Indians were making preparations to attack their arch-enemies, the Huambisas. The oracle, however, had not yet been auspicious. In order to find out whether the correría would be successful, they drink the narcotic decoction of a certain liana which transports them into a state of dreaming in which they have hallucinations by which they judge as to the lucky or unlucky outcome of the intended raid. This liana is called náktém in the Aguaruna language and ayahuásca (a Quichua word meaning "rope of death") by the whites.

26: Brüning--72-73 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 727

When, on July 2nd, the rise of the Marañón forced us to stay a few more days in the Puerto Meléndez, we were able to make the return voyage through the Pongi de Manseriche not earlier than July 10th, 1902. In the middle of this Pongo we met with a family of Aguaruna Indians, a man, two young girls, an elderly woman with an infant, two older children, and the unavoidable dogs. We could see that they had gone hungry. They had been without food for eight days, since the River had carried off their canoe while they had made an overnight stop. A second canoe with other members of the party had continued the voyage and was prevented from returning by the strong currents.

An Augustine monk, who was in our party, told us that these Indians had moved to Barranca about a year ago. During their stay there one Huambisa Indian woman, a prisoner of an earlier raid, had escaped. The Indians whom we met in the Pongo participated in an [73] expedition to recover this woman, though they had not succeeded in this. Thereupon they raided the first house they could find, killed the father and abducted the young girl, who was about 10 - 12 years old. (She was one of the young girls whom we saw in their party.) The Indian who had killed her father now was to become the husband of the daughter. She had evidently become accustomed to the idea and regarded it as the natural thing. While we were carrying our canoe for a stretch over land --the rapids were too strong here--, the second Indian canoe arrived in order to rescue the shipwrecked family members.

26: Brüning--73 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 727

The cut-off heads of the enemies are reduced in the following manner: the skin in the rear of the head is cut open, and the skull is removed so that only the skin and the flesh of the face remain. The latter is mounted on a stone, somewhat larger than a fist, and hung in smoke so that all soft parts can shrink gradually. Finally, the stone is removed, the skin is stitched together in the rear, and the lips are contracted with a piece of string. Then, in order to dry it completely, the head is once more subjected to the smoking process. In this manner the head in the end is not larger than a fist, and the face looks like that of a monkey. The hair is kept at full length. A bundle of colored strings is fastened between the lips.

26: Brüning--73 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 628

It seems that among the Aguaruna Indians there is a sort of murderous revenge, though there is a way of redeeming it with gifts. I heard of one case where the gift of a blowgun eliminated the necessity for bloody revenge.

26: Brüning--73 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 534

I have observed among the Aguarunas the following actual musical instruments: a large bamboo flute (pinguí), a small bone flute (tunguí), a small drum (tambón). Bone rattles (mákits) may also be counted in this category.

The instrument most frequently used is the bamboo flute, which is about 45-50 cm. long and has a diameter of 3 cm. The air is blown in from the side. You can hear the sound of this instrument in the houses and on canoe voyages. It is one and the same melody everywhere. I have memorized it, and I am able to reproduce it here after 25 years. During our canoe voyage the Indian who was idle always played the flute, and in the houses, too, there was always someone who played this instrument.

Maitu huchahí tacu masahí.

26: Brüning--73 [4] (1902) 1928 Jívaro

116, 533

When we returned from our trip we witnessed a phantastic scene in Huaracayo, in the house of our Curaca Laichape, who had accompanied us on our journey. Inside the house the men with their war decorations moved pairwise in a circle, each one playing the flute, and occasionally singing, too. All of them were slightly tipsy due to the masato. The women, likewise under the influence of masato, accompanied the men by their singing and exhorted them to drink more and more. Some were seated or lying on their beds or in their seats, overcome by too much masato. Since the brujo had given us up as a total loss, they now celebrated our happy return.

26: Brüning--74 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 534

The small bone flute is approximately 12 cm. long. It is made of the bone of a doe and has three holes, two on top and one below. It is played from one end like the Quena flute. The doebone flute seems to be not very common, for I have seen it only once, in the hands of an old Curaca, who produced a lively melody on it.

I have also seen a small drum (tambón) with a diameter of about 20 cm. It is played with a stick, at the one end of which a piece of cotton is fastened. The bone rattle (mákits) must likewise be counted among the musical instruments: dried nutshells are tied together and attached to the ankles during the dance.

26: Brüning--74 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 202, 534

A few words must be said about the túndui, the wireless telephone of the Aguarunas. It consists of a hollowed-out tree trunk, about 100-120 cm. long and of a thickness of 30-35 cm. At each end there is a handle, one of which is used to grab it, the other as a support on the ground, so that the instrument is free to vibrate. On top of the drum there are four holes in one direction. Originally, these holes may have been used to hollow out the trunk, in the end they help with the resonance. (See Illustration number 4.) They beat the instrument with a short stick which is wound with vegetarian wool at one end. The sound differs depending on whether the drum is hit from the side or at the top. The messages are conveyed, in the manner of our Morse system, by a combination of these two sound possibilities. If the air is quiet, one is able to hear the túndui at a distance of several kilometers. The message is transmitted from one place to the other by a process of interception and further transmission.

When we returned from our trip to Puerto Meléndez, our arrival was signalled with the help of the túndui from the houses along the bank to all the others so that when we arrived in Huaracayo, we found a large crowd assembled for our reception.

26: Brüning--74 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 501, 484

The most important means of transportation along the upper Marañón and its tributaries is the canoe (Fig. 8). One could even say that this dug-out is the only means of transportation since there are only a few isolated overland paths.

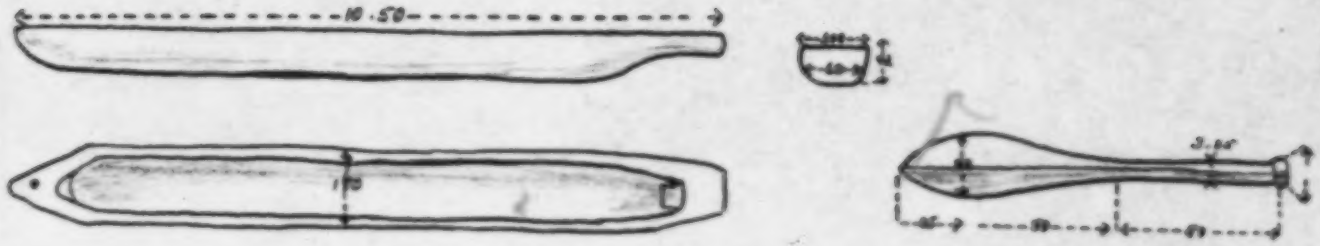
The canoe appears in several sizes. Some accomodate only one to two people, others up to twenty men. All of them are made of cedar wood. Whether small or large, they all have the same shape. The part that touches the water is round in cross-section just as the original tree. At both ends flat seats for the oarsman were provided when the canoe was dug out. The canoe is directed by means of paddles, but on upstream voyages long bamboo poles (tanganas) are required, and with their help the boat is pushed forward. Should the river bank be flat, some Indians may jump into the water to pull the canoe with the help of lianas.

26: Brüning--74
116, 501, 484

(1902) 1928

Jívaro

Figure 8. Canoe and Paddle.



26: Brüning--74-75 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 501, 463

It is difficult for a neophyte to handle a canoe as it requires great skill to maintain one's balance. It is amazing to what thickness the cedar trunks grow. [75] During my trip through the Marañón territory I encountered an uprooted cedar tree with a diameter of about 170 cm.

Another means of transportation in the river area is the raft (balsa). It can be used for downstream voyages only and is therefore not so frequent. It is made by uniting several balsa trunks. The rafts are kept within the current by means of paddles.

26: Brüning--75 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 505, 576

With reference to canoe voyages I should mention the following: As soon as a settlement is in sight, the Indians put ashore in order to wash and comb themselves and to paint their faces. Then they proceed, and when they pass a settlement, they hit the edge of the canoe with their paddles and give a long oration with a loud voice. They do this until the settlement is out of sight.

Bordesholm, January 1928.

Hans H. Brüning.

Mammals

kayúca	small rodent in the shape of a little pig.
kuhukón	small mammal of the size of a small cat; instead of a coat of fur it has flexible quills.
hĺntšam	a bat
ungumióg	large rodent; the whites call it ronsoco.
hápa	doe
yagwá	dog
pamáu	tapir; the whites call it satšavaca
yakúm	a monkey, called cotomono by the whites.
wáši	a monkey; the Europeans call it maquisapa.
čéhe (n)	a white monkey.
čáši	called mahás by the whites.
ohokú	the tail of animals

Birds

atášu	a hen
áyum	a cock
cúyo	a turkey
onç (e)	a sort of turkey with colorful feathers.
úunc (e)	a sort of turkey with darkbrown feathers.
tšíva	trumpeter
kuyokúyo	a large duck with black and white feathers.
tšúmi	black bird with red tail.
tuíš	green parrot with blue head and neck, a black dot on each cheek.
tíngó	large green parrot, the head of somewhat blueish color, on top a little yellow, and a touch of yellow on the sides. The whites call it catalina.
šíši	small green parrot with ash-colored head and eyes of the same color.
tacám (p)	a blue guacamayo (ara) with yellow chest and body.
kíus	small love bird, perequito.
kavá̱u	a large green parrot.
pangén	a partridge
pívi	crested or tufted hen with a crest of feathers.

papájum	a sort of small seagull.
sukangá	tukan or diostedé.
šímbi	a sort of swallow.
súnsumanš	a white heron.
atáš	white-yellow wild duck.
ungtúng, untú(g)n	a brown heron
mášu	a sort of crested hen.
pangwána	a sort of partridge.
çáça	tufted hen (Opisthocomus hoazin). [76]

Fish, Amphibious Animals, Insects, etc.

kánšap	a ray with one sting.
tšúni	a large beetle larva.
wambíšok	general name for butterflies.
kánka	general name for fish.
dóptu (hint)	air-bladder of the fish.
miúntše	a mosquito.

téti	a mosquito.
mántše	green grasshopper.
nápi	snake.
nihin	spider.
tólka	carabid. } both of them used for ear decorations.
wáwa	brilliant beetle, }
tšuma	louse.
yantána	a crocodile.
kungwim	a terrestrial turtle.
yotóg	a large ant, called iguia by the whites.
kupitšo	balsamiferous ant
kangálhute	fish with lance.

Plants

pandap	banana.
samó	ripe banana.
pagáta	sweet sugarcane.
ubutš	cotton
wáwa	Ochroma (Bombacea).

sikút (a)	vanilla.
íntsi	sweet potato.
tangána (Quichua)	a sort of bamboo (caña brava).
ipáko	Achote (?), ruku.
zángu	tobacco.
jíma	ají, Spanish chewing pepper.
sá	Indian corn
dúse	maní, groundnut.
míka	bean
máma	yuka, nonpoisonous Manihot.
táng (u)	Schiringa (?) tree.
tsíngose	tree-fern.
tsíña	logwood.
tsíña nua	a fine logwood.
átsu	gregarious palm.
satíka	pumamaqui, gregarious tree, growing on cultivated but later neglected soil.
máté	a tree from which a fiber (chambira) is obtained.
tsimút	a tree from which the túntui are made.

kumái	chambira, the fiber of which is used as string.
tsápe	ivory-palm which the whites call tagua.
tuntuám	palm the shoots of which are edible.
uyáy	another palm with edible shoots.
pihípi	a sort of rush the roots of which are used against insect bites.
múmi	tree, stick,
sásta	any flower.
nlúka	the leaf.
ngágki	the root.
tímu	liana, narcotic used for fishing purposes.
náktem	narcotic liana, used by the Aguaruna Indians in order to discover the auspicious time for a raid.
pëungái	a sort of black resin and the tree from which it is obtained.
náum	a tree from which the resin pengái is obtained; blowguns are covered with pengái.
sapáta	is the nut of the avila; used against toothaches.
otuntú	a brew, used internally and externally against snake bites.
másu	plant used as a narcotic for fishing purposes. barbasco.
míske	plant with a mint fragrance. The brew is used against abdominal pain. [77]

tšihígab	unrefined copal resin.
aštanga	small kernels used against diarrhea.
tšipa	a resin.
wapáy	a bean obtained from a liana that has the shape of a doe-eye.
kapihona	a large tree with smooth yellow bark.
antšimuntše	fruit of the passion-flower.
wambokiš	the fruit of a small inga species.
wintši	the flower whichis called papagayo by the whites.
yamakáy	a tree the leaves of which are used for the brown-dyeing of fabrics.
yanamúk	little berries used to blacken the teeth.
angpangban	leaves used against snake bite.
kúnakip	leaves used against snake bite.
máikua	medicinal plant. Given to children for purgation purposes, even if the children are not sick.
piú	leaves used to blacken the teeth.
nupiš	leaves with gallnuts on them; used for decoration.
hingai	gallnuts.
na (h) ahaip	a yellow fruit with a thick rind.

çeáç	poison for the blowgun arrows. It is boiled to a sirupy thickness.
súa	fruit used for blackening the body.

Relationship Terms and Parts of the Body.

áišman	man. Also used to hail a fellow.
núa	woman (or wife ?)
apabá	father
yatsón	brother
nuasá	sister
sé	brother-in-law
nukúa	mother
nukútši	grandmother
utšúts	small child
vinuatkám	married
hámžin	pregnant woman
tují	a person with skin trouble.
waktsánghen	goodlooking young man
náki	lazy fellow
yánum	fellow-countryman ?

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múntšu	chest or breast
ámbo	abdomen
anantái	heart
númpa	blood
nãhe	flesh
okúntš (e)	bones
nuápg	skin
tšingun	elbow
kots	ear
day	tooth
wíno	lip
máku	leg
nijái	forehead
núji	nose
nantšik	nail
sóso	chin
sangán	heel
intás	hair
akáhik	lock of hair which hangs into the forehead of men.

tšikmónday	nasal mucus
tja	faeces
iki	fart
kata	penis
tsuki	vulva
kahay	pain, sickness
ubutkata	coughing

Clothing. Ornaments

itípe	loincloth of a man
tarátse	clothing for women
kamúš	barkcloth, which is said to be worn along the upper Senepa.
kahíst	a piece of bamboo [78] which is worn in the ear by some of the Antipa Indians.
ekiáta	ear pendants
akíte wáwa	ear pendants made out of the wings of a decorative beetle.
akíte toika	ear pendants made out of the wings of a carabid.
atsechókta	head decoration made of monkey fur.
tawás	head decoration made of feathers.

dúsip (e)	black seed used for ornamental purposes.
patáko	a band worn around the arm by married women.
poékta	necklace made of small porcelain buttons.
timáš	comb
yusána(gi)	red berries which are worn on bands over the shoulders.
dópiš	bands made of black seeds; they are worn on the chest and back.
mísa	a bundle of various fruits, worn as ornament by women.
sua pain tómate	a roller with which the black paint is applied on the body.

Musical Instruments.

pinguí	flute made of bamboo.
tungui	small flute made of the bone of a doe.
tuntuí	a hollow tree trunk used as a signal instrument.
tambón	small drum.
mákiš	a bundle of small nuts worn by dancers around the ankles.

Weapons.

ahahú	gun
yápa	revolver
nánki	spear with iron point.
ángõa	spear made of chonta wood.
tíkit	fishing spear
tum	blowgun.
omgomió	sight of the blowgun.
kápik	cane with a piece of wool at one end, used for cleaning the blowgun.
mati (Quichua)	the hollow fruit of Crescentia Cujete (tutuma), used as a storage vessel for the arrow wool.
wambõã (Quichua)	a sort of vegetarian wool (ceiba) which is wound around the arrows.
tõnta	a piece of bamboo used as a quiver.
tãipãti	straw in the tõnta, to prevent arrows from falling out.
çençak	arrow.
pãni	jaw-bone of a fish used to make the notches on the arrow-points.
cincuh(i)	two palm trees from which arrows are obtained by splitting process.
kungúh(i)	

útši	arrow poison, brought from the Ucayali.
çeal	poison prepared by the Aguaruna Indians themselves.
ampi	poison in general.
komgbína	defense tower.
wampatš	net for shooting purposes.

House and Utensils.

hõa	house
tanïš	wall
wáiti	door
hjïa	roof
peäka	bed
kutän	seat of a low piece of wood.
itšïnak	pot for cooking use.
pinïnga	vessel for drinking purposes.
ikosmo	grave in the house.

koçóm	cigarette
wãi	stick
tãangína	basket (without lid) for women. [79]
tokópe	basket (with cover) for men.
pungámo	stand for smoking meat.
tã(i)kit(a)	spinning spindle
sémpi	spinning whorl.
ubuta	yarn
ikãngamo	bobbin with yarn.
múmi payánko	the two thick staffs over which the warp is extended.
itãuve kamantsá	a thin stick to which the two ends of the warp are attached.
múmi payánko	a thick stick that separates the warp.
tãikit (a)	stick with which the woof is introduced into the warp.
katãui	a wedge-shaped piece of wood with which the woof is fastened.
itãivay	the "broadholder"
yúnwa	weaver's beld, worn on the back in order to hold the woven material straight.
nijamánai	the yuka extract from which the beverage is obtained by infusion with water.

nampúki intoxicated.

Celestial Bodies, Geographical Names, Mineralogical Terms.

ítsa	sun
nántu	moon
llaga	stars
náse	wind
yúmi itáue	rain
ipamát	thunder
pánki	rainbow
ítsa nagumgám	clock
hínta	path
múha	cordillera
tsítsíham	river ?
ánit	mountain, ascent ?
paka	descent ?
pikáui	descent ?
ínça	gorge

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amóhine		the rise of rivers
mahanó	amóhine	the Marañón River has risen.
wáintše		rapids
pánki		the devil of the Marañón, a spook.
kámatak		sandy desert ?
káya		stone
káyam		sand
wíg		kitchen salt
núnga		soil of the earth
yúmi		water
ji		fire
so		foam of the water
áha		cultivated field.
tongiték		

Boating on the River

káno	canoe
kanét (a)	oar

pepéngo	raft
wámpu (d)	life-buoy
tangána (Quichua)	a long bamboo stick with which the canoe is propelled.
katingmí	go over to the other side of the river!
tayangíta	go to the river bank!
ñgingíta	go away from the river bank!
viandá	let's row!
stubadáda	push the canoe by means of the tangana !
vay vay stubadáda	push the canoe quickly by means of the tangana !
hákasta	wait for me !
wáma	onward !
wimi	let's go !
sintía	make haste !
ísia	quick !
tsupínghe	drenched to the skin.

Words Concerning Time, Adjectives, etc.

ayú	Yes
maktí	no
húhu	this
ahóimi ?	now
yamáitai ?	now [80]
kašuímí	tomorrow or the morning?
unduhí	much, plenty
imátški	little, few
huungágmai	large
zizikái	cold
atóšte	far
siánge	warm
tikihúts	near
kajú (a)	strong
kihíñue	of heavy weight
takáptíñue	of light weight

pûinge	pleasant, delicious, excellent
yahautoi	
tunâu	unpleasant
takamát	taciturn
suhingigai	the breaking of a rope.
atâikta !	grip it, seize it !
amásta	give me in exchange, sell me !
mâma amásta	sell me yuka !
tâitsasmi	talk to me !
eneme	bring me !
sûsta	accept it from me !
wânda	drink!
yumi wânda	drink water !
wikmita	hewing, cutting
ahâkda	hewing with the axe.
sepikta	cutting with the knife.
minie	come here !
minime	I am coming.
ikimaeta	sit down !

asaue	there is nothing, you have nothing.
ávay	there is
asávai	have you ?
kakai	to die
waimpa tuke	what do you call this ?
(ui) yáica	my name is
(amor) yaitpa	what is your name ?
tuke yáita ?	what is his name ?
(digitá) yáita	his name is...
makájate ?	do you love me ? do you want me?
piami	I want to know it.
nakítia	I do not want.
makápate	to measure
pimpiáke	I am tired.
tuavame	Where are you going ?
voyahay yuámi	Let us eat !
máma yuáte	I eat yuka.
atáku yuáte	You eat chicken.
yantáma yuám	Is crocodile edible ?

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yantána kánga yuávi	the crocodile eats fish
kungwim papaya yuávi	the turtle eats papaw.
hákasta bótimi	speak slowly !
nampúkkmi	dancing or to dance
nansumámi	
puhámok	Good day !
puhúmata	So long ! Au revoir !
huhúk	one
kímak	two
apátsem	three
kampátu	four
kvásti	five
unzuhí	ten
huna kanán	one day ?
yusa, yus, kapánto	red
álle, minga	green
samáue	yellow

mukóoc, mukúsi (s)	blue
tŭuíte, sóak	black
pohkpin	white

A Song

Ha ha ha hi
Ha ha ha ha hi

Máitu máitu hutŭa hutŭahi
Huska huska takumasahi
Máitu hutŭahi takumasahi.